

Green <sup>washing</sup> growth  
^

Jonathan Essex

Green House Think Tank

# Climate Emergency Honesty:

the need for different politics and economics

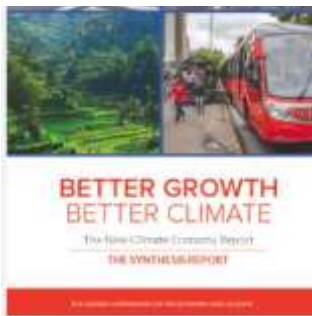
Inclusive growth,  
better growth,  
natural capitalism,  
green growth

OR

- Post growth
- Degrowth

## THE NEW CLIMATE ECONOMY

The Global Commission on the Economy and Climate



The Global Benefits of a Decisive Shift to a Low-carbon Economy when Compared with Business-as-usual.



Source: The results cited for the US\$26 trillion in direct economic benefits are cumulative for the 2010-2038 period, whereas the other data points reported are for the year 2038. Source: Giambo, L. et al., 2018.



# Technology & Finance-led or Just Transition & Demand Reduction?

Private finance won't  
decarbonise our economies –  
but the 'big green state' can  
[Daniela Gabor](#)

While the private sector wants  
to keep control of the green  
transition, what's needed is  
massive public investment

Fri 4 Jun 2021

← Post



Daniela Gabor  
@DanielaGabor



every now and then, I see carbon financiers come up with a new greenwashing scheme that makes my blood boil - this carbon risk transfer moves dirty loans off banks' balance sheets into private markets via 'green' securitization

How do you transfer financed emissions? Well, the simplest way is, still, to sell the loans to the hedge fund: If some loan on a bank's balance sheet is associated with 10 tons of emissions, and you move it off the balance sheet, then the 10 tons of financed emissions goes away.[3] This is not a particularly complicated business, but it is a good pitch. You go to a bank and say "look, you have a bunch of loans to oil and gas companies, and people yell at you about them. Just sell us the loans at, you know, 98 cents on the dollar, and that gets rid of both the credit risk *and* the people yelling at you about financing carbon emissions. And we get 2% for helping you out." And in fact the plan seems to be that the credit risk and carbon risk will go together:

The idea is to "transfer the credit risk, but at the same time transfer the so-called emissions risk to a third-party investor

6:45 pm · 19 Mar 2024 · 9,225 Views

# Green(washing) growth

- Greenwash in aviation
- Greenwash in planning
- Greenwashing a zero carbon future

# Greenwashing aviation



RADIO DAVOS

## Flying without emissions: how hydrogen is greening aviation

A 20-seater plane powered by a zero-emissions hydrogen fuel cell engine just made its first test flight. We talk to the company behind it, that believes all planes can be made zero-emissions.

In a recent test flight, ZeroAvia, an engine builder, made history by flying a 20-seater aircraft completely powered by green hydrogen, a zero-emissions fuel. The breakthrough test, which is the largest aircraft to ever be flown using hydrogen power, is a promising step towards a zero-emissions future for the aviation industry.

In this episode of Radio Davos, Val Miftakhov, the CEO of ZeroAvia, talks about the company's mission to develop zero-emission planes, the potential for commercial airlines to adopt this technology, and the role of customer demand and government regulation in achieving a more sustainable aviation industry. The episode also explores the challenges and opportunities in transitioning to zero-emission aviation.

# Greenwashing aviation



RADIO DAVOS

## Flying without emissions: how hydrogen is greening aviation

A 20-seater plane

missions hydrogen fuel cell engine just made its first test flight. We talk to the  
es can be made zero-emissions.

In a recent test flight, ZeroAvia, an engine builder, made history by flying a 20-seater aircraft completely powered by green hydrogen, a zero-emissions fuel. The breakthrough test, which is the largest aircraft to ever be flown using hydrogen power, is a promising step towards a zero-emissions future for the aviation industry.

In this episode of Radio Davos, zero-emission planes, the po

talks about the company's mission to develop

at this technology, and the role of customers, demand and government regulation in achieving a more sustainable aviation industry. The episode also explores the challenges and opportunities in transitioning to zero-emission aviation.



RADIO DAVOS

# Flying without emissions: how hydrogen is greening aviation

A 20-seater plane emissions hydrogen fuel cell engine just made its first test flight. We talk to the  
es can be made zero-emissions.

In a recent test flight, ZeroAvia, an engine builder, made history by flying a 20-seater aircraft completely powered by green hydrogen, a zero-emissions fuel. The breakthrough test, which is the largest aircraft to ever be flown using hydrogen power, is a promise

In this episode of Radio Davos, talks about the company's mission to develop zero-emission planes, the p

**Aviation is one of the hardest industries in which to reduce carbon emissions.** This is because for all but the smallest aircraft, there are currently few practical alternatives to liquid fuels. Source: BP

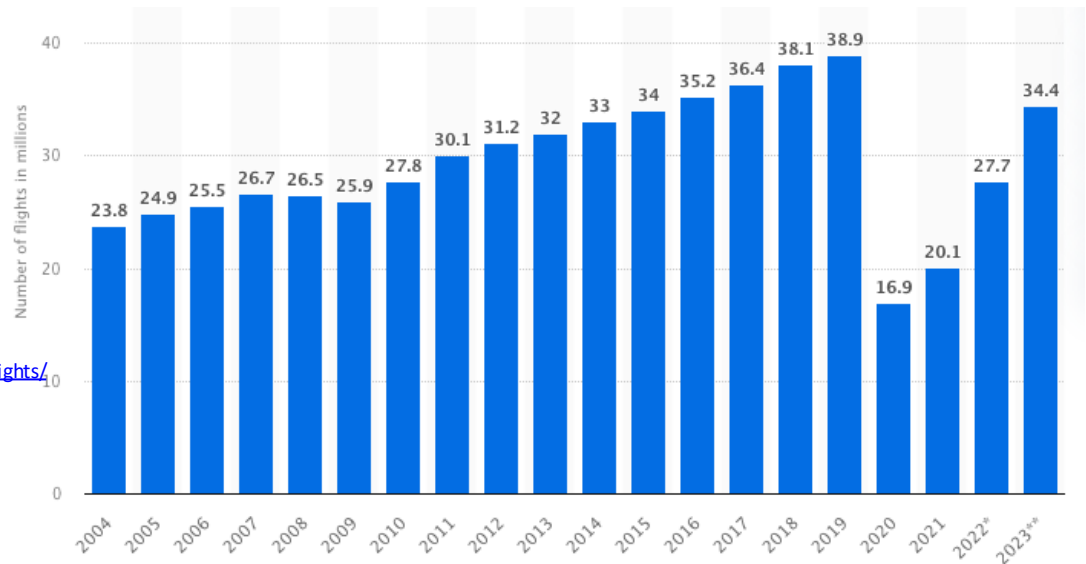
# 1 flight

On 28 November 2023, a Virgin Atlantic Boeing 787 Dreamliner took off to make its way from London's Heathrow Airport to JFK Airport in New York. It was similar to the tens of thousands of flights that day in almost every way. Except for the fact that it crossed the Atlantic fuelled by **sustainable aviation fuel (SAF)**. The flight was a world first using SAF with 100% sustainable feedstock by a commercial airline across the Atlantic.



# 1 flight (of the 100,000 on that day)

On 28 November 2023, a Virgin Atlantic Boeing 787 Dreamliner took off to make its way from London's Heathrow Airport to JFK Airport in New York. It was similar to the tens of thousands of flights that day in almost every way. Except for the fact that it crossed the Atlantic fuelled by **sustainable aviation fuel (SAF)**. The flight was a world first using SAF with 100% sustainable feedstock by a commercial airline across the Atlantic.



Sources: <https://www.bp.com/en/global/corporate/news-and-insights/reimagining-energy/saf-transatlantic-flight.html>  
<https://www.statista.com/statistics/564769/airline-industry-number-of-flights/>

# Who's behind sustainable aviation fuels?

How is sustainable aviation fuel made?



air bp

Fuelling a sustainable future

# So how do we govern this agenda?

## International Climate Agreements & Flying

- Agreement seeks to limit to 1.5C global heating
- Excludes international aviation and shipping
- Responsibility given to International Maritime Organisation (IMO) and International Civil Aviation Organisation (ICAO) through voluntary agreements
- ICAO has Committee on Aviation Environment Protection
- UNFCCC participation to observer status
- Not a lot happens!

# ICAO meetings on emission reduction since 2004



Doc 10069, CAEP/10

TENTH MEETING

Montréal, 1–12 February 2016

COMMITTEE ON  
AVIATION ENVIRONMENTAL  
PROTECTION

---

**2023 membership is:** Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Cote d'Ivoire, Egypt, France, Greece, Germany, Indonesia, India, Italy, Japan, Kenya, Netherlands, Nigeria, Poland, Qatar, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Singapore, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Ukraine, UAE, UK, USA and observers: Austria, Dominican Republic, Malaysia, Norway, Peru, Portugal, Turkiye, EU

Observer organisations: **Advanced Biofuels Association**, Airports Council International, Civil Aviation Navigation Services Organisation, International Business Aviation Council, International Coordinating Council of Aerospace Industries Associations, International Coalition for Sustainable Aviation, International Federation of Airline Pilots' Associations, International Petroleum Industry Environmental Conservation Association, UN Environment Programme, UNFCCC, Arab Civil Aviation Association, African Civil Aviation Commission.



# Jet Zero Strategy

Delivering net zero  
aviation by 2050

July 2022



# So who is behind Jet Zero?



## Jet Zero Council – Third Meeting

11:00 – 12:00, Wednesday 30<sup>th</sup> June 2021

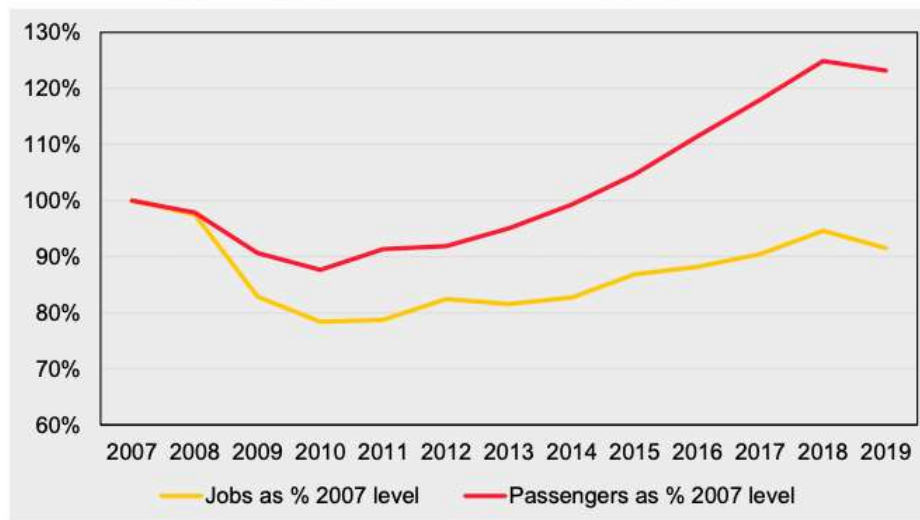
**Attendees:** Rt Hon Grant Shapps MP (and other ministers), **Heathrow Airport, Rolls-Royce**, UK Knowledge Transfer Network, The Coalition for a Digital Economy, Aerospace Technology Institute, Cranfield University, LanzaTech, **easyJet, International Airlines Group, LoganAir, Airbus, General Aviation Manufacturers Association, Shell, TUI Airways**, Royal Air Force, **Velocys**, Association for Renewable Energy and Clean Technology, **BP**, Civil Aviation Authority, **GKN Aerospace, Virgin Atlantic**, Mercia Asset Management, **Manchester Airports Group**, Aviation Environment Federation (sole NGO representative), Meggitt and ADS President, ZeroAvia, techUK, The Faraday Institution, **British Airways**



# Justified with Jobs-wash

- 2% reduction in aviation jobs each year, in spite of growth, due to automation
- Economic benefits only to senior management
- At best, growth just sustains status quo

Figure 1: UK aviation job and passenger numbers as a percentage of their level in 2007. Data is derived from the BRES employment register, and the Civil Aviation Authority (CAA).



# Justified by Greenwashing growth



Our unique Green Controlled Growth framework  
airport's noise, carbon, air quality, and road traffic

in its tracks.

If London Luton Airport breaks the environmental limits set out in its expansion proposal, it won't mean an apology, it will mean further expansion is stopped.

Our unique Green Controlled Growth framework will introduce limits for the airport's noise, carbon, air quality and road traffic impacts. These would be legally binding, and independent of the result.

# Justified by Greenwashing Growth

**Luton Rising**  
Our airport.  
Our community.  
Our planet.

**If we miss  
our environmental  
limits, our expansion  
will be stopped  
in its tracks.**

If London Luton Airport breaks the environmental limits set out in its expansion proposal, it won't mean an apology, it will mean further expansion is stopped. Our unique Green Controlled Growth framework will introduce limits for the airport's noise, carbon, air quality and road traffic impacts. These would be legally binding, and independently verified.

SURREY COUNTY COUNCIL, MOLE VALLEY DISTRICT  
COUNCIL, REIGATE AND BANSTEAD BOROUGH COUNCIL  
AND TANDRIDGE DISTRICT COUNCIL  
JOINT LOCAL IMPACT REPORT (LIR)

# Council opposition to Gatwick is 'green growth'

## GATWICK AIRPORT NORTHERN RUNWAY PROJECT (NRP)

### Planning Inspectorate's Reference TR020005

#### Local Authority URN's

Mole Valley District Council	20044578
Reigate and Banstead Borough Council	20044474
Surrey County Council	20044665
Tandridge District Council	GATW-S57419



March 2024

- 10.7 To this end, the JSCs propose an alternative approach that would still deliver the outcomes that the Applicant desire but are sustainably driven. By adopting an approach similar to that of Luton Airport (referred to as Green Controlled Growth), whereby growth is only permitted after targets have been met, the JSCs could be confident that the outcomes described in the ES and TA would happen rather than just hope that they would. Instead of
- 10.156 In the first instance, SCC seek sensitivity tests that reflect that different outcomes may occur. Secondly, but more importantly, SCC propose a change in approach to that which is being pursued by the Luton Airport DCO, which favours environmentally lead growth. Such an approach would enable growth/development/expansion once targets have been met rather than the Applicant's approach which relies on measures to achieve targets after the growth/development/expansion has occurred. This has been raised previously in SCC's
- 10.181 Furthermore, SCC propose an alternative approach that could easily fit within the existing SAC framework and would still deliver the outcomes that GAL desire. By adopting an approach similar to that of Luton Airport or referred to as Green Controlled Growth, whereby growth is only permitted after targets have been met, SCC could be confident that

That a Green Controlled  
Growth Framework is adopted  
as per the expansion of Luton  
Airport.





## National Planning Policy Framework

### 2. Achieving sustainable development

7. The purpose of the planning system is to contribute to the achievement of sustainable development, including the provision of homes, commercial development, and supporting infrastructure in a sustainable manner. At a very high level, the objective of sustainable development can be summarised as meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs<sup>4</sup>. At a similarly high level, members of the United Nations – including the United Kingdom – have agreed to pursue the 17 Global Goals for Sustainable Development in the period to 2030. These address social progress,

# Taking Greenwash of Planning Policy to the Supreme Court

Barrister Estelle Dehon KC, acting for Ms Finch, said that greenhouse gas emissions from burning oil are an "**inevitable**" and "indirect" effect of extracting oil and that the defence used "**distinctions that have an aura of unreality about them**"

Sarah Finch said, "Planning authorities say that they don't need to consider the climate impacts of the actual burning of the oil - just from the drilling. **It's like saying a chocolate cake is low calorie as long as you don't eat it,**".

Surrey County Council said, "The planning applications was **determined in accordance with the National Planning Policy Framework** ..."





# NPPF - Ministerial Foreword (2012)

## **Ministerial foreword by the Rt Hon Greg Clark MP**

The purpose of planning is to help achieve sustainable development.

Sustainable means ensuring that better lives for ourselves don't mean worse lives for future generations.

Development means growth....

**So sustainable development is about positive growth** – making economic, environmental and social progress for this and future generations.

The planning system is about helping to make this happen.

**Development that is sustainable should go ahead, without delay**

# Sustainable Development?

10. So that sustainable development is pursued in a positive way, at the heart of the Framework is a **presumption in favour of sustainable development** (paragraph 11).
  
217. When determining planning applications, great weight should be given to the benefits of mineral extraction, including to the economy<sup>75</sup>. In considering proposals

<sup>75</sup> Except in relation to the extraction of **coal**, where the policy at paragraph 223 of this Framework applies.

# What does Greenwashing Zero Carbon look like?



# Greenwashing away zero carbon

- Reduce > reuse > recycle
- Reduce energy > retrofit > renewables
- Go local > walk and cycle > switch to bus, EV
- Local (seasonal) > organic > animal friendly > fair trade
- Local jobs and people-led = bioregional > technology-led
- Local > regional > national and global economy > trade

# Greenwashing away zero carbon?

- Reduce, reuse, recycle (+continue on buying)
- Reduce energy, retrofit, renewables (in new homes)
- Go local, walk and cycle, switch to bus, EV (+ flying)
- Local (seasonal), organic, animal friendly, fair trade food
- Local jobs and people-led, bioregional, technology-led
- Local, regional, national and global economy, trade

# Greenwashing away zero carbon?

- ban high-carbon advertising, recycle (+continue on buying)
  - reuse enterprises, longer-life, renewables (in new homes)
  - remanufacturing, retrofit homes, repurpose buildings, place-based planning, community renewables, bus and train drivers, EV (+ flying)
  - Go local, walk and cycle, switch to bus, EV (+ flying)
  - Local (seasonal), organic, animal friendly, fair trade food
  - Local jobs and people-led, bioregional, technology-led
  - community transport, national and global economy, trade
- Quality of livelihoods, reduce demand
- local shops, shorter-supply chains



# A political and economic choice

- 1. **Try to decarbonise as private-sector led, tech/infrastructure led projects.** Present as a different way of doing growth. Supported by finance. Does not reduce energy intensity. Increased energy and material use. **Doesn't work. Use ESG and CSG. Cover up shortcomings with greenwash** (by corporates and government).
- 
- 2. **Reduce demand through creating jobs locally.** Stop vested interests funding politics. Transform governance. Climate emergency. Transform existing buildings, infrastructure and at the same time ways of living. Investment creates locally circular economies (through green jobs) rather than technologies. Divest from fossil fuels. Reduce energy and material supply and demand (less advertising and consumerism, global trade and extractivism). Changed political governance and economics needed.